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LEAD CHAPTERS
AND
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

(Printed by John D. McMillan)

LORD SHAFTSBURY AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

LORD SHAFTSBURY

AND

INDUSTRIAL REFORM.

EDITED BY J. D. MILLER

(Department of Educational Sociology)

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WILLIAM SHAFTSBURY

JOHN D. MILLER

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

(founded by John D. Rockefeller)

LORD SHAFTSBURY AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM.

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty
of the Divinity School in Candidacy
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS.

(Department of Ecclesiastical Sociology)

-by-

William Stockton Lockhart.

June Convocation,

1908.

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OUTLINE.

LORD SHAFTSBURY AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM.

Part 1. His Life and Labors.

A. The Historical Setting.

B. His Childhood and Early Years.

1. Of an Aristocratic Family.
2. An Absorbed Father and a Fashion Loving Mother.
3. The Influence of Maria Millis.
4. His School Life.
5. An Incident.

C. His Devotion.

1. When He Entered Parliament.
2. When He Espoused the Cause of the Working Man.
3. When He Became a Lord.
4. At the death of his Son.
5. At the death of his Wife.

D. His Varied Interests, (Merely a catalogue).

1. Factory Legislation.
2. Lunacy Reform.
3. His Labors in Behalf of India.
4. Coal and Collieries Bill.
5. The "Ragged School" Movement.
6. Various Church Reforms.
7. The Opium Trade in China.
8. President of the Board of Health.
9. Municipal Lodging Houses for Working Men.
10. The Flower Girls Mission.
11. The Movement in Behalf of "Chimney Sweeps."
12. Charity Organization Society.
13. Acts in Behalf of Acrobat Children.
14. Acts for the Protection of Young Girls.

E. His Industrial Labors.

1. Industrial Legislation.

1. Factories.

- (1). General Condition of Working Men and Their Families.
- (2). The Effect of the Introduction of Machinery.
- (3). The Substitution of Child and Woman Labor.
 - (a). The Introduction of the APPrentice System--Its Abuses.
- (4). The Legislative Enactments up to 1833.

- (5). The Factory Legislation of 1833.
 - (a). Lord Ashley as Leader.
 - (b). The Issues.
 - (c). Results.
- (6). The Factory Legislation of 1844.
 - (a). Sir James Graham (government), as Leader.
 - (b). The Issues.
 - (c). The Results.
- (7). The Factory Legislation of 1845-48.
 - (a). Lord Ashley Prepares the way for Mr. Fielden.
 - (b). "The Calico Print Works" (1845).
 - (c). Lord Ashley Reintroduces the "Ten Hours Bill".
 - (d). Lord Ashley Leaves the House of Commons.
 - (e). The "Ten Hours Bill" again.
 - (f). Its Defeat by Sir James Graham.
 - (g). Peels ministry ended.
 - (h). Mr. Fielden reintroduces his "Ten Hours Bill".
 - (i). It Passes.
 - (j). The Immediate Results.
 - (k). A Brief Summary of the Bill.
- (8). The Legislative Enactments of 1867.
 - (a). Juveniles in Work Shops, (not previously covered by law).
 - (b). "Agricultural Gangs".
- (9). The Consolidation Act of 1878.
- (10). Sanitary Acts.
 - (a). The Extra Mural Interment Bill.
 - (b). Metropolitan Water Supply Bill.
 - (c). Model Working Men's Houses Bill.
 - (d). Other Measures.

2. Coal and Collieries Legislation.

- (1). Existing Conditions.
 - (a). Ages.
 - (b). Conditions of the pits and mines.
 - (c). Occupations of the women and children.
 - (d). The morals.
 - (e). Their education.

(2). The Bill.

11. Industrial Education.

1. Legislation in Behalf of

- (1). General Condition.
- (2). Legislative attempts for industrial education.

2. His Relation to Non-Church Education.

3. The Ragged Schools.

- (1). The class reached.
- (2). The work done.

- (3). The Ragged School Union formed.
- (4). The Emigration Scheme.

Part 11. Historical Development.

A. Industrial Legislation.

- 1. England, (since 1878).
 - 1. The factory code of 1902.
 - (1). The present statute of England.
- 11. In the United States, (woman and child labor).
 - 1. Historical genesis.
 - (1). The Colonial period.
 - (2). Conditions up to 1850.
 - (3). Conditions since 1850.
 - 2. In the Manufacturing Industries.
 - (1). Southern conditions.
 - (2). Northern conditions.
 - 3. Legislation.
 - (1). Child laws.
 - (2). Woman laws.
 - 4. Special Problems of Woman Labor.
 - (1). Married women.
 - (2). Low wages.
 - (3). Competition with men.

B. Industrial Education.

- 1. In England, (after Shaftsbury).
 - 1. The apprentice system.
 - 2. New Movements in education.
 - (1). Polytechnic schools.
 - (2). University Extension Lectures.
 - (3). The University Settlement.
- 11. In the United States.
 - 1. The Apprentice system.
 - 2. Substitutes for the apprentice system.
 - 3. Industrial schools.
 - 4. Trade schools.
 - 5. Technical schools.
 - 6. The University Extension and Settlement work.

LORD SHAFTSBURY AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM.

Part 1. His Life and Labors.

A. The Historical Setting.

Anthony Ashley-Cooper was born at the opening of the century. Before he took his seat in Parliament the wars with Napoleon had ended and the stirring times were over. The trouble that is to come will be as a ripple compared to the flood tide of the previous years. England's sons will now have time to reflect. They have been unmindful of the lower classes. Already her industrial successes have blinded her eyes to all but the "output". England's successes had, like ancient Rome, built up a landed Aristocracy, which was to give color to all her social and commercial relationships. "But there is a dark shadow that haunts every aristocracy". 1 This aristocracy had long had apprentices but they were few in number and of the better class of the working people, thus there was no thought for the lower classes. This class belonged to the estate and were bought and sold therewith. "Even death must serve that industry upon which as they thought, the wealth of England--that is of English aristocracy--rested". 2.

England was shut off from the world by its restrictions on emigration and all efforts of working men at self protection and improvement were cut off by laws against the "Combination and mobility of labor." Thus the very class that really produces the wealth was bound for that very reason. When water and steam power was introduced it only increased the difficulty--now the whole family or the workman must be put into this manufacturing "hopper" to be ground up for the benefit of the millmen. The same class that a few years before had conquered France and had again demonstrated their metal in Cromwell's battles are now to be cast down because they have the misfortune to be poor working people. This was the industrial situation when Lord Shaftsbury was born.

B. His Childhood and Early Years.

1. Lord Ashley was born of a noted and in many respects, a noble family. The family title was one of the most respected in England. His father, Copley Ashley, was the sixth Earl of Shaftsbury. His mother was the daughter of George, fourth Duke of Marlborough.

2. An absorbed father and a fashion loving mother.

The father was constantly absorbed in public duties and his mother was given over, almost entirely, to the claims of fashion and society; so much so that she had no time for her son nor her own religious duties. The tone of the home seemed, from the first, to be opposed to the spirit of young Ashley. He was

1. Schulze's, "Social Peace" p. 45. .
2. Ibid.

left to grow up in the old "high and dry school"--in the cold, lifeless, formal orthodoxy of the time. 1. While the home was of so little avail in his religious training, yet there was one "ministering angel" sent to him in the form of an aged servant of the household, viz. Maria Millis.

3. The Influence of Maria Millis.

She was a kind hearted, loving Christian woman, faithful alike in her household duties and in her higher duties to God. She loved the boy fondly and would take him upon her knees and recite to him the stories of the Bible, and especially, the story of Christ. Told as they were in a simple way, and out of a heart full of love and devotion, they found a resting place in the heart of her young auditor. (Here was an unconscionable preacher of wondrous worth,. She taught him to pray, and the simple Prayer of his childhood was still the Prayer of his Lordship. In his last days he was frequently heard repeating the little prayer that she taught him.

4. His School Life.

At seven years of age he was sent to school at a place where children of his class were accustomed to go. This school is described as a "hot bed of every kind of vice and immorality, where might was right, and the lives of the weak and timid boys were made almost intolerable". 2.

Young Ashley lived in a state of terror because of the cruelty of the older boys. The days of his school life were everything but Pleasant; even in old age, he said, "The memory of that place makes me shudder". While in this school his friend and guide, Maria Millis, died and it was a time of bitter mourning for young Ashley. She was the only person he had ever loved and the only one to whom he could tell his childish troubles. From her he turned to her book, the Bible, and ever afterward the characteristic thing of him was his devotional life. His holidays, were no more pleasant than his school days for he feared his Parents even more than the "burly fellows" in school. His childhood was surely an unhappy one and it cast its shadow upon his countenance, for he was always spoken of as of a "sad countenance". Now that he had known cruelty and hardship he would henceforth devote himself to bringing joy and gladness to the homes of little children.

When he was twelve years of age he was sent to Harrow, to live in the home of Dr. Butler. Dr. Butler was an amiable friend and teacher. This was a real emancipation for young Ashley. From here he went to Oxford where he distinguished himself as a student, receiving the highest honors of his class.

5. An Incident.

One incident must be recited here because of its later bearing. One day while walking down Harrow Hill he heard the songs and shouts of a drunken crowd. He looked into a side street

1. Life of Shaftsbury, Vol. 1. p. 36.

2. Ibid, p. 38.

and saw four or five drunken men carrying a rude coffin. Staggering as they turned the corner they let the box fall and there rolled out upon the sidewalk the body of a man--one of their own kind. Their drunken state, the foul language, the bitter oaths made a tremendous impression upon the soul of young Ashley and as he walked on he determined, with the help of God, "to devote his life to pleading the cause of the poor and friendless". 1.

At the age of twenty-five he entered Parliament and from that time on until his death he was constantly before the public.

C. His Devotion.

I will note a few incidents in this man's life to show his devotion.

1. When he entered Parliament.

The day that he took the oath he wrote in his diary, "A slight prayer for assistance in my thoughts and deeds". Again he writes; "That I am not completely in despair must come from God who knows, and who, if he wanted me, or knew that I could be useful would doubtless call me forward".

2. When he espoused the cause of the workingman.

Mr. Sadler had his bill before the House of Commons when he was defeated in election and could not return. Various leaders and friends of the employees wrote Lord Ashley asking him to take up the bill and push it through. This meant that he must ally himself with the cause of labor in the future. He stood at the parting of the ways--one leads to the haunts of misery and hardships, the other to a place of affluence and ease. His father said, "no", and many of his friends discouraged him. He was always appreciative of his friends council so he said; "I returned home armed with their opinions, to decide for myself after meditation and prayer, "and divination" (as it were, by the word of God". 2.

3. When he became a Lord.

To be eligible to a seat in the House of Lords was no mean thing. It frequently happens that men will hold to their devotional life when they are in the lower, or even in the honorable places of life, but when they have reached the summit of honorable positions they let go of their devotional life. In this respect Lord Shaftesbury shows his strength. When he found that he was to receive this honor he thought of it simply as the largest opportunity for serving God and mankind. He writes at this time; "I bear a new name, which I did not covet; and enter on a new career, which may God guide and sanctify".

4. At the Death of his Son.

In this instance we descend into the valley with him and see him under the heavy hand of sorrow. Francis was an admirable youth, gifted, pious and refined, highly esteemed by his acquaintances. He was in school at the time and when the father and mother were notified they hurried to his bed-side. In a few days he died.

1. Life of Shaftesbury, Vol. 1. p. 42.

2. Ibid, p. 149.

The records of these days were not only touched with his intense grief but also a note of thankfulness for the righteous life of his son. He was perfectly resigned showing his ultimate faith in God.

5. At the Death of his Wife.

It seems that at every great epoch of his life he turned to his diary and upon its Pages he poured out his soul; this seems to be especially true in this event. How full of faith, devotion and resignation are his words; "God took her soul to himself at twelve o'clock this morning. We bow before Thee in resignation and sorrow". Then he proceeds by Praising God for the gift of her.

He was such a man as could not be considered in any Phase of his life, apart from his devotion. Whether he walked the streets of sin infested districts or the aisles of the House of Lords, whether in the Presence of the Queen or in the miserable huts of the costermongers, he was always and ever--God's man.

D. His Varied Interests. (Merely a brief catalog).

1. Factory Legislation.
2. Lunacy Reform.
3. In behalf of India.
4. Coal and Collieries Bill.
5. The "Ragged School Movement".
6. Various Church Reforms.
7. The Opium Trade in China.
8. President of the Board of Health.
9. Municipal Lodging Houses for Workingmen.
10. The Flower Girls Mission.
11. Legislation in behalf of "Chimney Sweeps".
12. Charity Organization Society.
13. Acts in behalf of Acrobat Children.
14. Legislation for the Protection of Young Girls.

At the Memorial service in Westminster Abbey, on Thursday, Oct. 8, 1885, there were 191 Religious and Philanthropic Institutions represented with all of which Lord Shaftesbury was more or less directly connected. See Appendix, Vol. III.

1. Industrial Legislation.

1. Factories.

(1). General Conditions.

The condition of the workingmen at the beginning of the 19th century was very different from what it is now. He groaned under the heavy burdens, he was reproached by the thoughts of his being, simply a part of the estate, or a wheel in the machinery of commerce.

The factory system was cruel in its oppression. Sanitation was almost unknown, Clubs and Unions for self improvement and protection did not exist in any marked degree. The hours were long, the work hard, while the wages were low; so low, that the employees did not hope to have any of the luxuries of life, and scarce the

necessities. Taxation was heavy and therefore oppressive. The laws were such as to pauperize and further degrade them. The literature was cheap and degrading as to its moral and mental effects. The church was unconcerned; the clergymen were slaves to the existing state of things.

The amusements of the people tell of their condition. "Fairs and wakes were the popular resorts; drunkenness was the prevailing vice; unchastity was fearfully prevalent; the low class dancing saloons and the still lower class cheap theatres were largely frequented". 1.

A spirit of violence and lawlessness was every where manifest. That was the only means known to them of redress. An instance is cited in 1829--during a period of stagnation in trade, the employers proposed to the workmen a reduction of wages. They assembled in mobs, "broke the windows of the factories, smashed the machinery, destroyed the looms and in some instances set fire to the mills". 2.

(2). The Effect of the Introduction of Machinery.

At the close of the 17th century, the value of muslins and calicoes received from India was about 160,000 pounds. "During the 18th century the importation of Indian piece goods into this country, despite legislative enactments intended to foster the home manufacture of cotton fabrics by prohibiting the weaving of India muslin and calicoes, rose to the annual value of 1,250,000 pounds, and the acme of this increasing trade was reached in 1806, when our importations from India of such goods as are now the staple of the industry of Lancashire, amounted to 2,000,000 pounds". 3.

"From this date there is a decline, great and rapid, till England becomes an exporter of what she had previously imported so largely, and is able, not only to furnish cotton goods of every variety and quality for the supply of all her wants, but also to carry the produce of her looms ten thousand miles across the seas, and placing them at the doors of the Indian consumer, under sell the goods made by his own hands from cotton grown in his own garden". 4.

Improvements and inventions in machinery account largely for this wonderful change in industrial conditions. Until 1738 the English hand-loom-weaver was in no respect any better prepared for rapid work or large output than the crude Indian weaver, but in 1738 John Kay, of Bury, substituted the "fly shuttle" for the "hand shuttle" by which, the production of the hand loom trebled. Improvements followed rapidly and in 1767 James Hargreaves patented his "spinning Jenny". When he had demonstrated the utility of this machine, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the workingmen, it was in demand every where.

Then there followed the invention of the yarn producing

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1. Life of Shaftesbury, Vol. 1. p. 132.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid, p. 135.
 4. Article, "Cotton Weaving and Lancashire Looms"--MacMillan's Magazine, Vol. VI. p. 446. Quoted in Life of Shaftesbury, Vol. 1. p. 135.

machines by Richard Arkwright and Samuel Compton, then the work of Dr. Cartwright and Robert Miller, so that by the close of the 17th century the conditions of the manufacturing centers were completely changed. Instead of working in their homes, as formerly, they were compelled to work in the mills. They were no longer their own masters. They were under new masters who hired them for what they were willing to pay and for whatever time they wished. The working men remonstrated, but in vain. The water power could be used to do the harder part of the work and thus the men could be set adrift if they did not comply with the conditions laid down by the employers. A child could manage the machinery with almost as much success as an adult.

(3). The Substitution of Child and Woman Labor.

This class of labor sprang into demand in a day, and the supply was at hand. Almost incredible are the stories of the hardships endured and the hardest of heart manifested by the cruel taskmasters. "Large bodies were drafted from the work houses of London, Edinburg and other great cities and placed in the mills as "apprentices", where at the discretion of sordid overseers, they were worked unmercifully and treated with such brutality that the recital was too sickening for narration". 1.

The conditions grew desperate. As early as 1796 many had protested, but the stirring events through which the country was passing drowned their voices and the mill men went on in the work of human spoliation. "Child jobbers" scoured the country to gather up all the children possible and sold them into worse than negro slavery. The waste of life cannot be estimated, but it must have been dreadful. The machinery was kept running day and night by two shifts of children.

(a). The Introduction of the Apprentice System--Its Abuses.

Under this system church wardens, overseers of parishes and factory owners contracted for children; some as young as five years of age to serve until they were twenty-one. "Baits" were held out to the children that they would be "well fed and clothed, have plenty of money and learn a trade". Thus they obtained volunteers to this most desperate slavery. The beauty of the picture was gone as soon as they entered the "Prentice House", and the gates closed upon them and they were checked off and numbered according to invoice and assigned to the foul berths allotted to them, reeking with the foul oil with which the bedding of the former occupants was saturated. It made little or no difference if the former occupant had died from some contagious disease. The newcomer was put in without any attempts at sanitation. "The first labor, generally, consisted in picking up cotton from the floor where the heat was from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit, and in the fumes of the oils with which the 20,000 axles and spindles were bathed". 2. "Sick with aching backs and inflamed ankles from the constant stooping, with fingers lacerated from scraping the floors; parched and suffocated by dust and flues--the little slaves toiled from morning till night. If they paused the brutal overlooker, who

1. Life of Shaftesbury, Vol. 1. p. 130.

2. Ibid, Vol. 1. p. 139.

was responsible for a certain amount of work being performed by each child under him, urged them on by kicks and blows". 1. At noon they had forty minutes, as to time, and a meal of black bread and porridge and occasionally coarse Irish bacon.

As they grew older there were new and harder duties assigned them. No time for rest until Sunday and then they had no thought but that of rest. Gradually they sank lower and lower into the "depths of wretchedness". In times of weariness and fatigue they frequently fell upon the machinery and scarcely a child could be found that was not thus scarred. They were the easy victims of any and every contagious disease. They were swept away in great numbers by the fevers that infested the factory district. How much cruelty was actually practiced we shall never know. The children could not escape, they dared not complain when the magistrate came for fear of the task-master and generally the mills were swept and cleaned when visitors came. If one was killed the coroners inquest was seldom held and only then in a perfunctory way. During the entire period of "apprenticeship" the hours averaged fourteen per day.

Let us now see what kind of a graduate we shall have under such a system. "We have a man dwarfed in body and mind, scarred all over with the cruel teeth of the machinery, constitution broken down, diseases preying upon him and he now finds that he has not learned a trade that is really worth while". If one is maimed during the apprenticeship his wages are fixed at a "dying rate". This was the usual thing, so common indeed that parents pound out their children to this miserable slavery, simply because they did not know of anything different or better for the child. It was the price thought necessary that childhood must pay.

(4). Legislative Enactments up to 1833.

Sir Robert Peel was the first to espouse the cause of the children. Himself a manufacturer he knew well the cruelties and abuses. He provided for their instruction, food, clothing, limited the hours to twelve per day, abolished night work, appointed visitors to inspect the factories.

The introduction of the steam engine, brought the factories into densely populated sections of the cities where children were easily obtained, and that, too, without the necessity of clothing, feeding and educating them. This introduced new evils and Peel came forward again in 1815 to meet the new situation. In 1819 he had a prohibitive law passed that no child under nine years of age should be allowed to work in a cotton factory and no young person under sixteen years of age to work more than twelve hours per day (exclusive of meals). Mr. Nathaniel Gould greatly assisted in this work and left a name that will always be remembered in England.

In 1825 Sir John Hobhouse (afterwards Lord Broughton) passed a bill that made the employment of children in the cotton factories under eighteen years of age, impossible for more than sixty-nine hours a week and prohibited night work in specified departments. The bill had much of good in it but it was soon found that it did not meet the rapidly growing conditions of the factory life. It served as a stimulus for future work.

The next movement in the direction of factory legislation was headed by Thos. Sadler, a man that was in close touch with working men and was willing to exert himself for their benefit. Associated with him were Mr. John Wood, Mr. Richard Castler, the Rev. G. S. Bull, Mr. Walker, Mr. Philip Grant, and others, who grasped the wider conceptions of helping children, not only in the cotton mills but in all the textile fabric factories throughout the Kingdom.

Much agitation was aroused in all the manufacturing districts; the employers as well as the employees petitioned both Houses of Parliament. It developed that Sir John Hobhouse and Lord Morpeth introduced a bill which proposed "to limit the hours of work to eleven and a half hours per day, and eight and a half hours on Saturday; to prohibit children under nine years of age being employed in factories; to exempt all young persons under twenty-one years of age from night work; and to extend the operations of the Act to cotton, woollen, worsted, linen and silk factories, and also to power looms". 1. The mill owners were very strong in their opposition of this bill and though it received the Royal Assent in 1831--it was so essentially changed that it was of little force. Mr. Sadler was so conspicuous in his work on this bill that he was, by common consent, recognized as the leader of this movement in the House of Commons.

Seeing the failure of the former bill to correct the abuses, he introduced a bill near the end of the Session of 1831, known as his famous "Ten Hours Bill", and on the 18th of March, 1831 he "moved its second reading in a speech of extraordinary eloquence". He secured the appointment of a select committee but he was not content with this and the agitation went on as never before with reference to reform measures.

Mr. Sadler was defeated in the next Election much to the sorrow of the laboring classes. Lord Ashley refers to the defeat of Mr. Sadler in a Private letter to Mr. Robert Southey as follows: "Sadler, too, is a loss; he might not be popular in the House or in London Society, but his speeches did much good in the country and he is a singularly able, rightminded, religious man". 2.

The laboring element were at a loss to know what to do. They held meetings and the Reverend G. S. Bull was instructed to proceed to London and confer with friends there. He did so, and in a short time in a letter addresses to the "Short Time Committees" he named Lord Ashley as the successor of Mr. Sadler. This brings us up to the work of Lord Ashley in his first legislative efforts for the cause of labor in 1833.

(5). The Factory Legislation of 1833.

(a). Lord Ashley as Leader.

When Lord Ashley consented to take up the measure laid

1. Life of Shaftesbury, Vol. 1. p. 144.

2. Ibid, p. 146.

down by Mr. Sadler he was but little known in the factory districts. Yet the fact that he had voted for Mr. Sadler's bill had made him seem to be the most favorable man in the House of Commons that could be depended upon to espouse the cause of the factory men. The spirit in which he took up the "Ten Hours Bill" was manifest in his speech delivered in the London Tavern before the "London Society for the Improvement of the Condition of Factory Children". "He had taken up the measure as a matter of conscience, and as such, he was determined to carry it through". He most positively declared that as long as he had a seat in that House, no efforts or exertions should be wanted on his part to establish the success of the measure. If defeated in the present session, he would carry it forward to the next and so on in every succeeding session until it was a success.

1.

(b,. The Issues.

In a conference with the labor leaders they agreed there should be no strikes nor attempts at intimidation; no strong language against their employers, either within or without the walls of Parliament. It was further agreed that there should be a careful abstinence from all approach to questions of wages and capital; that children and young Peoples labor should alone be touched.

After the first reading of the bill (April 3, Mr. Wilson Patten acting on behalf of the "Association of Master Manufacturers", moved in the House of Commons that His Majesty appoint a commission to investigate the conditions in the factory districts with regard to the employment of children and the best means for the curtailment of their labor. This motion was carried by a majority of one. It was intended to delay matters. This committee was to have power to examine persons in private and by means of a shorthand writer to report every thing said. This was unfair to labor as it gave every chance for crooked work on the part of the Government Commission.

The commissioners proceeded with their inquiry but they were resisted at every turn. In many of the districts the working men had great delegations of the operatives, especially the children, presented to the commission and an appeal made on their behalf. In Manchester they "marched three thousand ragged, wretched little-ones" to the hotel where the commissioners were lodging that they might have the opportunity of seeing the actual condition of these children.

On July 13 the commission reported and it corroborated, in the main, the evidence taken before Mr. Sadler's committee (see report p. 163-4,. The bill having been read the second time June 17, and the report of the committee being before the house, on July 18 Lord Ashley proceeded with his bill. Lord Althorp opposed the bill on the grounds that it was not founded on the report of the Commission. It was defeated by a large majority in favor of the government's bill, but the light thrown on the subject had, no doubt, much to do with the lenient measures of the bill. Two things, at least, were gained by the enacting of this law, viz. (1,. The inspection of factories and (2, school attendance. (For text of the bill see 166-7,.

(2). The Results.

Little was attempted in Parliament for many years that the act of 1833 might have a fair chance to remedy evils. Lord Ashley gave himself to the education of "Factory Children" with considerable zeal, but he soon saw that the matter was doomed to be a failure.

Only a few days after 1836 when the bill would go into full force, it was noticed that the factory districts were the scene of intense excitement and anxiety. The advocates of the Ten Hours Bill poured in their messages to Lord Ashley; the inspectors and even the ministers were continuously writing him of the mill men's breaking of the law. The inspectors reported that 177 of the 1948 mills inspected, had broken the law and the number would have been much larger had not the local magistrates sided with the mill owners. Many indeed contended that the law of 1833 was only intended as a shield behind which the mill owners could carry on their work of human destruction.

The government introduced a bill in 1836, in which it was declared that "children between twelve and thirteen years of age should be allowed to decide for themselves, like their seniors; that sixty-nine hours per week would do them no harm and that the House would throw 35,000 children out of work if it refused to pass the bill". The bill was vigorously debated and though it passed by a majority of two it was afterwards withdrawn. Lord Ashley now assumed the attitude of a faithful watchman, seeing when and where the law was violated and bringing it to the attention of the House. Other attempts were made to introduce factory laws but they were generally withdrawn before they came to vote.

On June 22, 1838 Lord Ashley moved the second reading of the "Factories Regulation Bill" and intended to insert into it his Ten Hours clause, when it should reach the committee stage. It was brought speedily to a vote and lost by a majority of eight. In the next few days the "Times" had much to say on the subject and its influence was far reaching. Lord Ashley attempted it again on July 12, but was "counted out". Seeing that he was gaining ground he introduced the same matter, in a different form, on July 20, at which time he made one of the "ablest speeches ever made on the factory question". In the debate that followed Mr. Fox Maule denied the charges made against the government. Daniel O'Connell turned against the clause, Lord John Russell said that it would entail more suffering, while Mr. Hume declared it to be a "Party Manoeuvre". The clause was lost.

The government forces, seeing that something must be done brought forward a Factory Act Amendment Bill on Feb. 15, 1839. It provided that "no child should work in more than one factory in the same day", introduced safe guards against all certificates and required two hours schooling per day. Lord Ashley was in favor of the bill as far as it went and on July 1, when they were ready to vote, he tried to raise the age for young persons from eighteen to twenty-one. It was lost. He tried to get silk mills included but that was likewise lost. He tried a third time to reduce the number of hours for young persons from sixty-nine to forty-eight per week. The entire bill was finally withdrawn, when it was discovered that Lord

Ashley had favored the bill because he wanted to make it the vehicle for carrying through the Proposed amendments. These having been lost, he was decidedly against the bill and Lord John Russell informed the House that since Lord Ashley was intending to oppose the "bill, it was withdrawn". This shows his growing influence in the House. The bill having been lost Lord Ashley Proposed, without any opposition, that a "select committee be appointed to inquire into the operation of the Act for the Regulation of Mills and Factories". This report furnished the basis for the legislation of 1844.

(6). The Factory Legislation of 1844.

(a). Sir James Graham (government) as Leader.

The working classes were growing more and more urgent in the matter of shorter hours, age limits, etc. Yorkshire and Lancashire districts were taking the lead. The Reports from the inspectors were eagerly read throughout the labor districts and Lord Ashley was winning friends for the cause of labor every day. The government realized that something must be done. On the 5th of February, Sir James Graham introduced his promised bill into the House of Commons for the "Regulation of Labor in Factories".

(b). The Issues.

It contained no educational clauses", 1., but aimed to give the children time, free from work, to attend school. 2. The children's working-day should be limited to eight hours and those thirteen years old to twelve hours per day. A "child" meant one between nine and thirteen years of age; a "young person" from thirteen to eighteen years of age, and women the same as "young persons". "I propose", he said, "that such young persons shall not be employed in any silk, cotton, wool or flax manufactory for any portion of the twenty-four hours longer than half past five o'clock in the evening in summer and from half past six o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening in the winter; thus making thirteen and a half hours each day, of which one hour and a half is to be set apart for meals and rest, so that their actual labor will be limited to twelve hours per day". The bill was read the second time on February 12, and ordered to be committed. Lord Ashley would not consent to this bill and immediately there went forth the cry from the employees "Ten Hours and no surrender". The greatest excitement prevailed, great mass meetings were held to arouse public sentiment and literature on factory life and conditions was scattered all over the country. The labor leaders came to London to assist Lord Ashley. On the 15th of March the bill went into the committee and Lord Ashley moved that the term "night" should be made to mean from six P. M. to six A. M. and thus limit the working day to ten hours.

Lord Ashley made an address lasting two and one-fourth hours in its delivery, in which he dwelt upon the States interest in the moral and physical well being of her subjects. He pointed out the physical strain consequent upon factory operatives in their daily toil and also the moral effects of continued work upon the

1. Life of Shaftesbury, Vol. 1. p. 457.

2. Ibid, Vol. 11. p. 17.

mothers; how they were compelled to neglect their homes and the care of their children and that the physical fatigue was attempted to be kept up by alcoholic drinks. Thus the mother fails in the place naturally assigned her. Intemperance, impurity, demoralization, dirt, discomforts, ignorance and recklessness were the heritage of the domestic circle. The natural order of the household was reversed. The woman was in the mill at work while the man was thrown out of employment and must stay at home and care for the household. Such a reversal of the order of nature worked much ill to the whole state. Mr. John Bright followed with a lengthy heated oration on the subject, denying that the things alleged were actual. In the debate that followed many of the leading men in the House took part. The climax was reached when Sir Robert Peel made his two hours speech, in which, he pointed out the fact that other industries, such as the Sheffield and Birmingham wares, glass, porcelain, earthen ware, dress-making and needle work, all needed legislation quite as badly as the woolen, cotton and silk industries. Then he asked "is the House Prepared to Legislate for all these people?" A tremendous cheer and cry of "yes" answered the demand of the head of the government. The Premier was somewhat astonished and said "then I see no reason why we should not extend the restriction to agriculture?" The agricultural members answered him with a tremendous cheer. He ended his address by saying rather abruptly; "I cannot, and will not, acquiesce in the proposal of the noble Lord". The vote was taken and resulted in a majority of nine for the amendment and immediately the government called for a vote on the whole proposition and it was carried by a majority of eight. Sir James Graham arose and in a vile manner expressed his objections to the decision of the committee, however, he would not drop the bill but would proceed with it up to the eighth clause, where Lord Ashley would move that the word "ten" should be substituted for "twelve" hours. He moved to report progress and to sit again on Friday next (March 22). At a pointed time the government moved that the word "twelve" be inserted in the blank in the eighth clause. This was lost by a majority of three. The word "ten" was then moved to be inserted and it was lost by a majority of seven. Thus the proposal of Lord Ashley for a Ten Hours Bill and the government for a Twelve Hours Bill had both been defeated. The Bill was in peril of being lost and was presently withdrawn.

On the third of May another bill was introduced, and so arranged that it was impossible to amend. Lord Ashley on the 10th of May moved that a new clause be inserted in the bill to the effect that "no young person should be employed more than eleven hours a day or sixty-four hours per week and that after October 1, 1847, these should be reduced to ten hours and fifty-eight hours respectively". Sir James Graham made a lengthy speech and concluded by saying that if the measure now before the House should pass, he would resign his office and retire to private life. Other members spoke and finally Sir Robert Peel, after having addressed the House for more than two hours, closed by saying "I know not what the result may be this night, but this I do know that I shall with a safe conscience, if the result be unfavorable to my views retire with perfect satisfaction to a private station, wishing well to the result of your legislation". This was the final blow. A majority of one hundred and thirty-eight ended the matter for the present.

(c). The Results.

Some undeniable progress had been made. The most cheering sign to Lord Ashley was the rising tide of opinion favorable to the cause of the workingmen. This was not only true in Parliament, but also in the country at large.

A brief summary of law is as follows: Eleven hours per day for women. Women over eighteen on the restricted list. Children until thirteen years of age had to spend six hours per day in school and work only six and one half hours per day. On the 6th of June having passed the House of Lords, as a government measure, it became a law.

(7). The Factory Legislation of 1845-48.

(a). Lord Ashley Prepares the way for Mr. Fielden.

About the last days of September 1844, Lord Ashley made a tour of the factory districts. It was a laborous campaign but it was worth all it cost. He came in contact with the mill owners, some of them displaying the utmost disregard for the welfare and even the lives of their operatives, while others indicated a readiness to accept the Ten Hours limitation. He went into the subject of "distances" thoroughly and found that he had rather underestimated than over estimated the matter. He went into the homes and living places of the people and saw the wretchedness and squalor. He met the Lancashire Central Short Time Committee at the Brunswick Hotel, and at this time, took occasion to point out the progress that had been made in the fifteen years since they had begun working, stating that the goal had not yet been reached. He returned to London to get his "Ten Hours Bill" ready for the next session and also a bill for the "Protection of Children in Calico Print Works".

(b). The Calico Print Works Bill.

In 1840 Lord Ashley had moved for a commission to inquire into the condition of children in the Calico Print Works, and on February 18th, 1845, he moved in the House of Commons, "that leave be given to bring in a bill to regulate the labor of children in the Calico Print Works of Great Britain and Ireland". In the speech he called attention to the condition of the children in these shops, a summary of which is as follows: They generally worked from sixteen to eighteen hours per day, the same as adults; they began at seven to nine years of age and some as young as three to four years old. The rooms in which they worked were hot and unhealthy and in the "singeing room" the air was always full of "burnt particles", which invariably caused inflammation of the eyes. They were compelled to be upon their feet constantly and the arms were to be kept in a rotary motion. Wages were extremely low, education wholly neglected, morals exceedingly low and on the whole, they seemed to be the "most miserable" class of the industrial population.

Most eloquently did he plead their cause, appealing to the hearts of the members of the House in such a way as to move them to action. The bill received some opposition and was "mutilated in its passage", but it became a law on June 30, 1845. It was not all that was wanted, but it alleviated much distress and formed a basis on which to build in the future.

(c). Lord Ashley reintroduces the Ten Hours Bill.

On the 29th of January, 1846, he brought forward his "Ten Hours Bill" in the House of Commons. He set forth the arguments bearing on the whole subject and was careful to emphasize the result of shortened hours on the operatives and mill owners. The effect of the educational advantages given the children was dealt upon. After answering several personal criticisms, he concluded. The future of the bill depended upon Mr. James Fielden.

(d). Lord Ashley leaves the House of Commons.

The reason for his resignation was, that he was sent to the House of Commons, from his district, to uphold the "Corn Laws". Changes have taken place, so that, he can no longer conscientiously support them and thus he resigns. In this he was not alone, many others followed his example. Presently he went into the factory districts to explain his actions to the people.

(e). The Ten Hours Bill again.

Mr. Fielden brought forward the Ten Hours Bill on the 29th of April. A debate ensued which lasted the entire day. Towards the close of the day Sir James Graham announced the determination of the government to "resist the further progress of the bill". The debate was resumed on May 13th and again on May 22. Russell and Macaulay spoke warmly in its favor but the bill was lost by a majority of ten.

(f). Peels Ministry Ended.

On the 26th of June, the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel was defeated on the Irish Coercion Bill by a majority of seventy-three. Peel resigned and Sir John Russell and the Whigs were returned to power. Lord Ashley and his associates were greatly pleased at this change as they were now free from their old enemy. The new Minister had already pledged himself to the Ten Hours Bill proposition. This comes too late now to get another bill through this session but Ashley will see to it, that interest is kept alive in the measure throughout the whole country.

(g). Mr. Fielden reintroduces his Ten Hours Bill.

Early in the session of 1847, (Jan. 29, Mr. Fielden moved leave to bring in the Ten Hours Bill and on second by Mr. Ferrand the move was given on February 10, at which time, a long discussion took place. The bill was carried by a majority of 108 and, on the third of May, after a warm debate, it passed by a final majority of sixty-three. Ten days later, it was introduced into the House of Lords. It was the object of considerable interest. The Earl of Ellesmere, on moving its second reading, said many things in its behalf. Lord Brougham was the strongest in his opposition, claiming that the restriction of the hours would necessarily decrease the wages and thus the welfare of the people. The speech of the Bishop of Oxford was good and had no small part in determining the destiny of the bill. He showed how foolish it was to claim that the loss of two hours on a day's work would hurt the commercial life or stability of the nation, but that it would enrich rather than impoverish. The debate was considered one of the most intense and interesting that ever took place in the House of Lords.

(h). It Passes.

On June the first, having received a majority of votes

it Passed to the final stage.

(i). The Results.

The law was to take effect May 4, 1848. The working people received it with joy and genuine appreciation. All over the country great demonstrations were held and Mr. Fielden and Lord Ashley were greatly praised for their efforts. These demonstrations were hardly over when many of the shops were closed, owing to a commercial crisis and naturally enough, this was charged to the Ten Hours Bill.

(j). A Brief Summary of the Bill.

Children under thirteen years of age were limited to five hours work per day; "young persons" and women, over thirteen years of age, to ten and one-half hours per day. The regular factory day was from six A. M. to six P. M. allowing, one and one-half hours for meals for five days of the week and on Saturday the working day ended at 2 o'clock P. M. This law has been the norm for the English Legislature and has, with its various additions, give us our Present working law for industry.

(8). The Legislative Enactments of 1867.

(a). Juveniles in workshops (not previously covered by law).

In 1861 Lord Shaftesbury moved a second "Children's Employment Commission" and again (1863) that the same commission should inquire into the "Organized Labor" by the name "Agricultural Gangs". Based on the reports of this commission, he introduced two bills the first to correct the abuses of children in the workshops, not already covered by law. This Act prohibited the hiring of children under eight years of age and regulated the hours under thirteen years of age. It, also, made provision for the education of all children under thirteen years of age employed in any and all kinds of work shops and put all workshops under sanitary regulations. It also brought all wage earning children under the protection of the law. *

The Second bill was for the Protection of the "Agricultural Gangs". (see Vol. 3 p. 224 of Vol. 1. p. 10).

(9). The Consolidation Act of 1878.

From 1867 to 1878, Lord Shaftesbury according to his biographer (Mr. Hodder) did not take a leading part in the factory acts. In the Act of 1874, he is quoted as having spoken favorably on the bill and to have mentioned the fact that 2,500,000 persons were receiving protection from the factory regulations in the statute books.

The part of Lord Shaftesbury in the Consolidation Act of 1878 can best be told by himself in two separate quotations; the one from his diary and the other from his speech in the House of Lords

* It was found later that the children working in the Brick Yards were not included and a law was passed for the regulation of that class. (Vol. 3 p. 290-91.)

"Last night Factory Consolidation Bill in the House of Lords". Beauchamp spoke for nearly an hour; I, perhaps for twenty-five minutes. Nothing could exceed Beauchamp's kind and laudatory language of the measure and of myself in the long course of twenty-five years". Again, "I presume I am to thank her Majesty's government (Lord Beaconsfield's, for the bold and manly way in which they have come forward and settled a dispute which might have become serious. It has been reserved for the present government to give a reduction of the number of hours and we find ourselves at last, after forty-one years of exertion, in possession of what we prayed for at first, viz. A Ten Hours Bill". This was a fitting close for this great man's great work.

(10). Sanitary Acts.

Mr. Hodder says little about sanitation in the factory legislation of Lord Shaftesbury and I think the reason is, that it was generally a secondary consideration in the bills, the more important things overshadowing it. We are sure that Lord Shaftesbury was greatly interested in this most important work. When he was President of the Board of Health, he worked with untiring zeal in behalf of a bill called the "Extra Mural Interment Bill" and also, the Metropolitan Water Supply Bill. Though his health failed and he was compelled to resign his place on the board of health, he saw to it that both of these important measures became laws. His greatest service in behalf of the working men in this line, was in respect to their homes. More than once he had visited their foul homes and knew their conditions well. Commissioners were appointed, laws were enacted, and over these he was ever watchful, constantly bringing forth new bills and asking for appropriations from Parliament for the improvement of these homes.

His knowledge of sanitary matters is well shown in the instructions that he wrote for the Sanitary Commission to the "Crimea" (Vol. 2, p. 497-500) February 1855, when cholera was slaying thousands of the British soldiers in India. The effect is tersely told by Florence Nightingale, "that Commission saved the British Army". 1.

The work of sanitation among the Costermongers, in the filthy sections of London also deserve mention.

2. Coal and Collieries Legislation.

(1). Existing Conditions.

August 4, 1840 Lord Ashley moved that a Commission be appointed to inquire into the existing conditions of the children of the poorer classes in the Mines and Collieries. In May 1842 the first report was issued. This report disclosed the dreadful conditions that existed at that time. It seemed almost impossible that a Christian nation, as late as 1842, would have such conditions thrown around thousands of its inhabitants.

(a). Ages.

A large majority of the employees were less than

thirteen years of age. Some began to work in the mines when only four or five years of age, others when only six or seven years of age and a majority of them when not over eight or nine years of age, females as well as males.

(b). Conditions of the Pits and Mines.

"They were damp, dark, and close". Frequently the mines were wet, water freely trickling down the sides and the floor was ankle deep with black mud.

(c). Occupations of the Women and Children.

Children began work as a "tapper", an occupation that was surely unrivaled in the number of its difficulties. The doors in the passages of the mines had to be kept closed and it was the duty of the "tapper" to listen and when he heard a whirley, or coal carriage coming, he must open and close the door quickly. Imagine a child seven or eight years old sitting in the darkness and "horrible silence", upon a damp floor or jutting stone or standing ankle deep in the black mud unable to move more than a few feet. The "tapper" must be the first one there and the last one to leave the mine. Many of the mines abounded in rats, mice, beetles and other vermin. The child's life was full of the horrible instead of pleasant things of childhood. No sun shone for him, except Sunday, no laughing brook lured him to its banks. He spent Sunday in a home that was everything but uplifting.

From the position of "tapper" the little employee was passed on to "hurrying", "filling", "riddling", "tapping" and often to "getting". In all these lines no difference was made between boys and girls. In the burdens they carried the wages they received, the clothing they wore, there was no distinction as to sex. "Hurrying" was loading small wagons with coal and pushing or pulling them along the narrow passage ways. Oftimes they had to crawl on their hands and knees in passages as wet and narrow as sewers and with a chain or rope around their bodies, drag the load after them. This work was performed by women and children alike. Their backs were chafed, sides blistered, ankles strained and they stumbled and fell in the darkness or choked in the stifling atmosphere. They were obliged to do work that mules should have been doing. "Coal Carrying" was another of the hard problems of the trade. This was done almost altogether by women and children. It was a common thing for a child six or seven years of age to carry up a ladder by means of straps across the forehead, a half-hundred weight of coal, while the women would carry 150 pounds at a load. The children also ran the pumps that took the water out of the mines. Here eight year old children would stand all day long, ankle deep in mud, pumping out the water. The hard work, the long hours, the youthful years were bad enough but the danger to accidents was even more. It was expensive to put in devices to prevent accidents, while life was cheap. Diseases of the heart and lungs were common, "while rheumatism was almost universal". Education was scarcely heard of, and the morals exceedingly low. It could scarcely be otherwise when we remember that men and women worked side by side, the men entirely naked, and the women almost, their only garments being a pair of trousers. As to wages, the women and children received almost nothing. The pay was generally given in goods at the Company's store, where articles were at least, twenty-five per cent higher than elsewhere.

For all the revolting cruelty practiced upon the poor children employed in mines and collieries, for all the dreadful suffering which they were subjected in their premature and destructive labor, for all the horrible indecencies daily passing before their eyes and inviting their imitation, for all the ignorance, licentious habits, the main excuse was, that without the employment of children the mines could not be worked with profit; and that after a certain age the vertebrae of the back do not conform to the required positions and therefore the children must in order to be good colliers, begin early". 1.

This report called forth the indignation of the country. It caused men to shudder when these revolting scenes were depicted. The House felt the power of Lord Ashley's address and many men, that opposed him in factory legislation were silent, if not outspoken, in redressing the terrible wrong done these miserable creatures.

(2). The Bill.

June 7, 1842, Lord Ashley introduced a bill into the House of Commons for the exclusion of females and children from coal mines and the regulation of the hours of labor. On June 23, he writes in his diary, "last night pushed the bill through the committee", sinners were with me, saints against me". Lord Palmerston was very warm in his support of the bill and continued to resist the amendment to the non-exclusion of the women from the mines. On July 6, it passed the House of Commons and after sometime, the House of Lords. Surely, no more miserable class were ever benefited by legislation than these. It was not all that Lord Ashley wanted but it was a move in the right direction. The succeeding labor acts were broad enough to include the miners and thus, they were placed on a footing with other industrial laborers.

11. Industrial Education, (Children of Industrials).

The ignorance that prevailed in the factory districts is well illustrated in Mr. Homer's report of factory inspection when he says: "There is a district eight by four miles, including the boroughs of Oldham and Ashton with a population of 100,000 in which there is not a single school for poor children". 2. The attempts at legislation for sometime were almost futile. Up to 1839 the schools were of little force in helping the poor classes. An inspector, in 1839, makes the following report: "The engine men, the slubbers, the burler, the bookkeeper, the overlooker, the wife of any of these, the small shop keeper, the next door neighbor, with six or seven children on the floor and on her lap, are by turns found teaching the young idea how to shoot in and about their several places of occupation, for the two hours required by law". 3.

2. Legislative Attempts for the children of Industrials.

Little was done for the education of factory men's children until March 8, 1843. A few days previous, Lord Ashley had introduced a motion that the Crown investigate the matter and see

1. Life of Shaftesbury, Vol. 1. p. 418.

2. J. M. Ludlow, "Progress of the Working People", quoted in Life of Shaftesbury.

3. Ibid, p. 132.

what could be done. He followed this with a speech that had a wide spread of influence. "Sir James Graham brought forward a motion stating that a factory education bill was in course of preparation". The bill reduced the working time of all children to six and one-half hours per day, thus permitting them to be in school one half of the day. This was made "to some extent compulsory". The intention was to make church education general and therefore there was much opposition to it. It was withdrawn July 31, 1843.

On the 19th of April 1847, Lord Ashley assisted Lord Russell in bringing into the House a plan for general education, (including Roman Catholic) "based upon a grant of 100,000 pounds to be granted during the session." In his diary notes of April 23, he says: "A majority last night on the education minutes of 345. Forty-seven voting against it. I am very thankful". This brief notice is all that is given on this important subject.

3. His Relation to Non-Church Education.

In 1870 when Mr. W. E. Forester introduced a bill as to whether religious teachings should be permitted in schools, aided by grants from the state, Lord Shaftesbury took a prominent part in the discussion both in and out of Parliament. It was his conviction that religious teaching was an essential, not an extra part of a child's education. He said, "I will never consent to any plan that shall sever religious from secular education. "Religious teaching should be carried on within and not without school hours". The bill was carried July 30, 1870.

4. The Ragged Schools.

It was in this field that Lord Ashley did most of his real educational work.

(1). The class reached.

There was a large class of children that were growing up in the slums of London. They were living in wretched hovels, clothed in rags and poorly fed. This class was furnishing the thieves and vagabonds of the city. They begged, stole, in fact, any way to make a living. They were educated in all villainess and devoid of any good. These outcasts of society had no attention, except, when in crime; from the sheriff or hangman.

Lord Ashley had thought about them often and had longed to do something for their relief, but he saw no way of reaching them, until February 1843, he found from one of the news papers (The Times), that the London City Mission had begun work among these waifs. Lord Ashley associated himself with the movement, both in public and private labors and gifts. His biographer says: "He threw heart and soul into the movement, and from that time on until his death, he was the champion and leader of every effort in behalf of the "Ragged School". 1.

(2). The Work Done.

The first attempts at teaching seemed to be wholly lost, their street habits were brought into the schools and pandemonium prevailed. Two years later the school had developed into a quiet, orderly, well regulated school. The rooms were well lighted

with gas, walls were white washed and every seat was filled.

In ten years they were able to report a "Day School" for infants; an evening school for "youths and adults engaged in daily occupation; a woman's evening school, for improving character and extending domestic usefulness; industrial classes; a home for homeless boys; a night refuge; clothing for the naked; bread for the hungry; a bath for the dirty; a Bible class had enrolled 10,000 in one year, all of one class; a separate Bible class for mothers; prayer meetings for the teachers and parents; a school missionary to call on the sick and a Ragged Church for the proclamation of the Gospel and the worship of God." 1.

Lord Ashley won many influential friends for these schools and among them was Charles Dickens.

The movement spread rapidly through London and soon we find several small societies working in the same way.

(3). A Union Effected.

It was evident to the workers that a union of the Ragged School Societies would greatly benefit the work. So, that in the summer of 1846, the Union was consummated, and in the autumn of the same year, Lord Ashley consented to become President. Mr. J. G. Chent became the general secretary. At first the teachers worked without pay and gave as much time as they could to it. When the work developed, the government made grants to it and many large gifts were made from private individuals, so that, in a few years they could employ regular teachers and superintendents.

(4). The Emigration Scheme.

The work of the Ragged Schools was a pronounced success in elevating the lives of all in the community. Many of the boys after securing a certificate from this school went into places of usefulness and thus became honored citizens.

Lord Ashley arranged, at first, as an experiment to send some of these boys to the Colonies, especially Australia. The matter was a success from the first and later thousands were sent. The money for paying the transportation was made (in part) by the children in their Flower Shows and by the Boot Black Brigade.

There are almost no statistics on this subject but we find six or seven years after Lord Ashley became President of the Union, there were a hundred new schools with ten thousand scholars enrolled. The interest that Lord Shaftesbury had in this work is manifest in the diary note in 1880. He says, "If my life should be prolonged for another year, and if during that year, the Ragged School system were to fail, I should not die in the course of nature, I should die of a broken heart". It did not fail, for it has already been made a part of the National system of education in England.

Part 11. Historical Development.

(a). Industrial Legislation.

1. The Factory code of 1901.

In 1901 a new and yet more complete factory code, which raised the minimum age from eleven to twelve years, went into effect. In this there were laws with reference to keeping buildings free from effluvia; protective devices for dangerous machinery, (it must also be fenced); hours were fixed so that they could not exceed a certain number, the certain number being fixed according to the trade; special provision as regards holidays; over-time; night work and fitness for employment; the children must go to school and the employer must see to it that he has a certificate to that effect; in case of accidents, the proper officers must be notified. Specific regulations were made with reference to home work, bake houses, lace making, collieries and other special occupations. A large number of physicians, surgeons, inspectors, especially trained for this line of work, are provided for. These must keep guard over the industrial host of the English commonwealth.

With reference to the employment of women and children the code is quite full. There are specific regulations for the employment of women in textile and non-textile factories, workshops and in case of "wet spinning", laundries, over-time, and after confinement. The laws with reference to child labor are practically the same as that of women's labor excepting school attendance and the age limit. 1.

11. In the United States, (Woman and child labor),.

1. Historical Genesis.

(1). The Colonial Period.

It cannot be said that the work of women in this period was much in demand and the textile fabrics that she manufactured were largely for the members of her own household. For this she received no compensation in wages and considered it only a household task. Mr. Hamilton in his report to Congress in 1791 speaks of household manufacturing as a much larger thing than was generally supposed. "Great quantities of cloths, serges, flannels, linsey-woolseys, hosiery of wool, cotton, thread, jeans, muslins, linen goods, bed-ticks, coverlets, counterpanes, tow linens, coarse shirtings, coarse sheetings, towling, table linen", etc., were manufactured, and some of these were made for exporting. 2. These brief facts indicate that women were somewhat of a factor in the manufacturing world though they were not much of a commercial factor. With the introduction of the factory system she came more and more in demand, as also did child labor. "By 1815 the textile industry had practically passed into the factory system and by 1830 the old household industry was rapidly disappearing". The same fact holds here as in England, viz. that the invention of machinery is responsible for the demand of women and child labor.

(2). The Conditions up to 1850.

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1. The factory and workshop Act 1901, Williams & Musgrave.
 2. Wright's "Industrial Evolution of the U. S. p. 290-1.

The meager statistics before the year 1850 do not enable us to form any accurate conception of the number of women in remunerative employment. The records of 1850 give one female to every 3.29 males employed. In the certain lines of work the number of females was nearly equal to that of males and in other lines the females exceeded the males. In 1890 the women furnished 17.25 per cent of the employees, while in 1850 the per cent was 23.30. The case of the children was somewhat the same. In 1870 (first statistics) there were 5.50 per cent of all employes, while in 1890 they were 2.57 per cent. This has been due largely to the prohibitory laws of several of the states. The period from 1870 to 1880 shows a marked increase in the number of women (58.21) and children (54.39). Then in the next decade there was a rapid decrease in the number of children and an increase in the number of women (47.91) employed. Naturally enough, as the laws prohibited the children from working, the employers would hire the next cheapest, viz. women. 1. Since 1880 women have increased in nearly every line of industry. Of 369 occupations in 1890, there were nine in which there were no women or children. There has been a somewhat regular increase in child labor. In 1880 (children 10 to 15 years of age) 16.8 per cent; in 1900 there was 18.2 per cent. The female children are lower in each decade, being nine per cent in 1880; 10.2 per cent in 1900. The male children have greatly increased being 24.4 per cent in 1880 while in 1900 they had reached 26.1. Child labor however, has not increased as rapidly as woman labor. 2. A recent author has summed up the matter as follows: (A) That the number of female bread winners is increasing faster than the number of male bread winners and much faster than the adult female population. (B) That the number of gainfully employed children, though it does not increase quite as rapidly as the number of gainful workers of all ages, has still grown faster than the total population of ten to fifteen years of age. (C) That, to a certain extent at least, women may be said to have displaced both children and men in gainful occupations. (D) That the largest number of women are in the two Atlantic divisions. (E) That the largest number of children are in the two Southern divisions. 3.

2. In the manufacturing Industries.

It is in the factories that we find the most serious and wide spread evils of woman and child labor. The per cent of women is increasing much faster than either children or men, in fact the actual number of women has doubled in the last decade. The textile industries employ 41.9 per cent of the women and 13.3 per cent of the children in the manufacturing business. The condition of the children in the South, in the cotton manufacturing industries, have been compared to the English abuses in the early part of the last century. About the same system is used in getting recruits for the mills. An agent goes to the hills or mountain district and holds out the pictures of a second paradise to these simple minded people, who are living an exceedingly simple and modest life. Offering them "big wages" and "steady work" and employment for every member of the family regardless of the age limits. It is true that the work is

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1. Wright's "Industrial Evolution", p. 211.
 2. Adams and Sumner, "Labor Problems", p. 25.
 3. Ibid, p. 29-30.

not hard but the long hours (12) dusty rooms and the confinement are highly injurious and the education of the children is neglected. One state (N.C.) an investigation showed that the operatives in the cotton and woolen mills 82 Per cent of the adults, and 68 Per cent of the children could neither read nor write. Thousands of Americas' best blood grow up entirely ignorant, dwarfed in body, unskilled, and industrially inefficient. At this rate the Southern states will not be able to turn out the ever demanded "better manufactured product" of the future with this anemic class of workmen. 1. In the Northern states, child labor is chiefly among the foreigners, but in the Southern states the mills are wasting the sturdiest sons of rural homes.

The abuses of child labor in the North astonish us. At first the sturdy New Englander gave his sons to the millman. "As these left the mills for better wages and conditions they were replaced by English, Irish, and Scotch spinners, these then gave way to the French Canadians, Portuguese and Greeks". 2. It is reported that in New York City, there are found children as young as four years employed in making flowers. The textile workers, the milliners the dressmakers, and seamstresses constitute an army of little children". 3. Many of the more dangerous occupations have their quota of child labors, for instance the Cigar and Tobacco factories, 11,000; Mines and Quarries, 24,000; Glassworkers, 5,000; and many others could be added.

3. Legislation.

As regards legislation, we have followed closely upon the heels of England. Most of our laws find their models in English legislation. There is one marked difference, namely, the time required to get legislative bodies to enact laws has not been as long as in England, notwithstanding the fact, that the abuses in this country have not been so great.

(1). Child Laws.

The enactment of child labor laws has met with no serious difficulty such as "unconstitutionality", but rather children being under parental care not legally capable of making a contract, the constitutionality is unquestioned. The question of compulsory school attendance is vitally related to the child labor law, which prevails in the North but is lacking in the South. Where this law is rigidly enforced it prevents child labor in a marked degree. There are exceptions which make frequent breaches on the school attendance, such as, the release of a dependent widow's son. These exceptions should not be allowed. The state should see to it that the woman is cared for and the children properly educated.

Illinois stands in the first rank as respects the child labor laws. The chief points are as follows:

The minimum age limit is fourteen for employment in factories, stores, mines and illiterate children cannot be employed under

1. Methodist Quarterly Review, Article by A. J. McKellway, p. 473.
2. Ibid, p. 473.
3. Ibid, p. 334.

sixteen, unless they attend night school and further that certificates of school attendance are required under fourteen. Foreign children under sixteen are required to be able to read and write some language before being permitted to work. This clause would be greatly strengthened if such children were required to learn to read and write English before being permitted to work. The law in Massachusetts is next to Illinois and there is one serious exception in it, namely; illiterate children can be employed in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments before they are sixteen years of age.

Laws against child employment in Circus and Acrobatic Performances, street dancing, etc., are so general as to include all occupations dangerous to the health and morals of children. Miss Jane Adams made a strong plea for children, under sixteen that are acting upon the stage in Chicago and other large cities of our country in her address before the "Child Labor Conference" in 1906.

(2). Women Laws.

Laws for the protection of wage earning women have been more difficult in enactment than those in behalf of children, on the grounds that the legal restriction of women was "class legislation" and that it denies to women the right of "free contract".

There has been some advance made however, the Supreme Court of United States has recently rendered a decision in the case of Holden vs. Hardy, in the state of Utah, limiting the hours of all employees in mines and smelters to eight per day. This greatly influenced the opinions of courts and the Supreme court of Nebraska and Washington have upheld laws limiting the hours of women. In October, 1907, the Supreme court of the United States in the case of Curt Miller vs. State of Oregon rendered an important decision that has effected the state statutes of the United States. The statement is as follows: "This case presents the single question whether the statute of Oregon, approved Feb. 19, 1903, which provides that no female shall be employed in any mechanical establishment, factory, or laundry more than ten hours during any one day, is unconstitutional and void as violating the 14th amendment of the Constitution". Mr. Justice Brewer delivered the opinion of the court as follows: "We are of the opinion that it cannot be adjudged that the act in question is in conflict with the federal constitution, so far as it respects the work of a female in a laundry, and the judgment of the Supreme Court of Oregon is Affirmed".

In the recent Legislature of Illinois there was a law passed prohibiting women from working more than ten hours in every twenty-four. Now that the Supreme Court has affirmed this law (thus the principal) we can hope to see all the twenty states, that have statute laws regulating the work of women, take measures to see that they are enforced and the other states to enact such laws. We can confidently believe that we are on the eve of better things. The rising tide will force jurists to decide in favor of humanity's cry, rather than legal technicalities.

4. Special Problems of Woman Labor.

1. See "Annuals" Vol. 27, p. 32.

There are at least three evils attending even the normal labor of women in industry. They are both social and economic.

(1). Married women.

The Per cent of married women are increasing in industry. From 1890 to 1900 the Per cent were from 4.6 per cent to 5.6 per cent, a larger increase than in the relatively greater increase of single and divorce women. This condition prevails to a much larger degree in the South and there, especially among the negroes. Among them the decrease of marriage is comparatively small. They work largely in private laundry work or in the fields. The work of married women in the United States is not a considerable factor and yet where it exists it sure leads to a neglect of the home, inadequate care and training of the children and a general lessening of conjugal affections between husbands and wives.

(2). Low Wages.

Most of the women that engage in industry do so only temporarily so that, they have no especial motive to strive for industrial efficiency. They can live on less than men, or at least they may be earning only a part of their living, the remainder, being supplied by the parents or husbands. There is a general lack of training and skill and their personal competition with the vast army of unemployed women, the seeming impossibility of organizing women wage earners are some of the well known reasons why women can work for lower wages than men.

(3). Competition with men.

This is too well known to need more than simply call attention to it. It effects in two ways, first, men are positively thrown out of employment, second, men's wages are lowered by the accessible cheaper woman labor.

B. Industrial Education.

1. In England (after Shartesbury).

1. The apprentice system.

The apprentice system of England was found to be impractical as early as 1814, and the legal enactment with reference to it were repealed during the reign of Elizabeth. "Since that time it has become merely a trade custom or system of education, varying with the need of different industries and with the strength of labor organization." 1.

2. New Movements in Education.

In recent years there have been many changes made to fit the growing needs of the kingdom. They have maintained a system of schools that corresponds to the grammar grade of the American schools, attendance upon which is compulsory. This holds among all classes but it is found difficult to rigidly enforce the law among the poor. The fees are very low. The movement in regard to special technical and industrial schools is growing stronger every day. One or two illustrations will tend to show the direction things are going.

(1). Polytechnic Schools.

1. Adams and Sumner, "Labor Problems", p. 436.

A few years ago the Government Charity Commissioners found that they had funds for certain down town parishioners in London that had moved away. Prof. Bryce got an act through Parliament to use this money for the establishment of a number of Polytechnics in different parts of the country and especially in working districts. These have continued to grow in number and efficiency and are now practically the industrial schools of England. "In the Regent Street Polytechnic they have a large number of classes in scientific, artistic, musical, commercial, and other general subjects; beside preparation for civil service and instruction in manual training and practical trade work." 1.

The "Peoples Palace" is another such school, though this school does more in the direction of sociability, yet there are over 5,000 pupils enrolled. In nearly all the cities of England the night classes are largely attended. Mechanical institutes are a source of considerable help to machinists.

(2). University Extension Lectures.

The University Extension System is also a means of much help to the working People, with evening classes and popular lectures. Public libraries have had no small amount of influence in diffusing knowledge among factory men.

(3). The University Settlement.

These settlements have added their mite to the education of Englands working population. In them lectures are given and reading carried on in the lines of Political Economy and the Social Sciences. Tonybee Hall started by Ruskin's and Green's influence and fostered by Mr. and Mrs. Barnett, is the first and largest of these settlements. 2.

11. In the United States.

1. The Apprentice System.

In the United States this system was common until after the Civil War. It has rather died out of itself. It was the independent spirit of American youths that threw off its restraint.

2. Substitutes for the Apprentice System.

The Labor Unions attempted to take up the apprentice system in a modified form. When the skilled craftsman became an employer or manager the tutoring of the apprentice was left largely to the journeyman and if he chanced to be working on piece work he had little or no time to give the apprentice and the apprentice must pick up what he could, or, and more generally, with the aid of some machine he could do as much work in a short time, or even more than the journeyman and thus displace him, since he could work for lower wages. Sometimes, as in contract labor, the apprentices sacrifices his education for a "big raise" in wages, so, that in reality the "Prentice system" became another term for cheap labor. The newer forms of apprentice ship are in vogue in the plant of the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia and also the Brown & Sharpe Mfg. Co., of R. I. The Wanamaker Dept. Store in Philadelphia have a similar system. These have indentured apprentices and either pay

1. Woods, "English Social Movements", p. 253.

2. Ibid, p. 259.

some school or instruct them themselves in the evenings.

3. Industrial Schools.

This grade of schools have given themselves largely to agricultural training, though they have in numerous instances had an industrial department.

4. Trade Schools.

This trade school is in some measures a success. It aims and does give the pupil training in the particular line of the trade he seeks to understand. These schools vary much in the time required to complete the course of study and also in the quality of work done. The New Trade school, founded by Colonel Richard T. Auchmuty in 1881 is the largest in the United States. They teach Pattern making, plumbing, printing, bricklaying, carpentry, etc. 1.

Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, and Armour Institute in Chicago, are the leading schools of this class.

5. Technical Schools.

The aim of these schools is to give those who are working an opportunity to "brighten up" or take on some "new wrinkle". The classes are largely in the evening or else the students study by correspondence. These schools have some serious drawbacks, nevertheless, they are doing much good.

6. The University Settlement and Extension Work.

This work is so new in this country that its results cannot be estimated in any large way. So far as the work has been tested it has proved more than satisfactory. The advance made in the few years of our beginning is very encouraging and with the largest and highest grade colleges and universities in our country, giving especial attention to this line of instruction, we cannot help believing that we are on the eve of greater efficiency in industrial education.

Part III. Our Present Needs.

1. Industrial Legislation for Women and Children.

While there has been much done, "there remaineth still much land to be possessed". Many of our states have some good labor laws, but these need to be supplemented. Mr. J. F. Stimson says, "In all, about one-half of the states have so far passed what may be called factory acts, that is, regulation of the sanitary conditions in factories and workshops". It is my purpose to merely catalogue some of the main things that need legislative attention, some of which in several states have been touched upon, but do not come up to the standard that they should.

1. Age Restriction.

No child under sixteen years of age should be allowed to work in the factories, stores or mines, continuously, until they have completed the grammar grades and at least two years of High

School or Industrial Training or work equivalent thereto.

2. Shorter Hours.

The hours on the present scale are too long. They should be restricted in the case of children to five hours per day and no night work and with reference to women, eight hours per day. This gives the woman time to look after her home and family.

3. Higher Wages.

Children and women should be paid for their work at the same ratio as men. This would tend to decrease woman and child labor to a marked degree. Competition would be helpful to both and not harmful to men as at the present time.

4. Improved Sanitary Measures.

Protection should be carefully given to free the factories from obnoxious dust, vapors and fumes. The required light and space per capita, cleanliness and decency, bath rooms and work clothing should be carefully arranged and provided. The morals of children and women should be guarded, placing much of the responsibility upon the employer. Occupational diseases should be noted and the causes removed.

5. Protective Devices.

A few of the states have such laws, all should have. The state should "command employers to provide and workmen to use devices to defend the eyes from injury and their limbs from mutilation, as by eye covers, guards at dangerous points of machinery, protection against fire, solidity of buildings, and convenient fire escapes, elevators and stair cases". 1.

6. Improved and Enlarged Inspection.

The state should demand men and women that have been thoroughly trained in this work and then give them full power to bring offenders to justice. In addition to the regular inspectors there should be physicians trained in Social Science as well as in Medicine to care for the health of the women and children. Occupational diseases could be largely prevented or at least checked before they go very far. Politics should be kept out here as much as possible.

7. The Problem of Married Women.

The state should prevent married women, especially mothers with small children from working more than three or four hours per day. The time should be regulated by the number of children.

8. Industrial Insurance.

This should be allowed to widows with small children (not capable of self support) for accidents, sickness, and old age. Every argument used with reference to insurance for men applies with even greater force to this class of women.

9. Occupations Unsuitable to Women and Children.

1. Henderson, "Social Duties" in Biblical Word, Vol. 30, p. 27.

In the state of Missouri a child can work in the mines at twelve years of age. This is too low, the state should raise the age limit or prevent the child from doing this kind of work. Such occupations as are dangerous to the health and well being of women and children should be positively prohibited.

There are no good reasons why a working man should not have time and opportunity for the higher things of life. The laborer should be a partaker of his fruits. Poverty is not a crime and society should seek to heal the discomforts that it causes. The workman, like many others should not have all he wants but he should have a home where love abounds and where he may rear his children to be a credit and not a menace to the state. The best is not too good for the man that produces it.

11. Industrial Education.

1. Compulsory School Attendance.

It should be made complete in every state. This carried through the grammar grade will give us a good, sound basis on which to build. Then if High School advantages are to be had make at least the first two years compulsory. If the pupil does not want the regular Classical and Scientific courses, let him take the Industrial course in whatever especial line he chooses.

2. State and Municipal Control of Education.

Let the state not only arrange courses in Agricultural and etc., in its different institutions, but let the public school boards or the Township High Schools and of the city High Schools offer courses in the Industrial Sciences and Arts and give the children of the workmen who do not have money to go away to school an opportunity for education. England has been wiser than us in this respect; she has put her Polytechnical schools in the midst of her people. Then for the adult, man and woman, let these same buildings, etc., be open in the evenings and have teachers especially for this work to conduct night schools. Then these wage earners, that in youth had no advantages, will have an opportunity to become better qualified for their daily toil. Foreigners are only too glad to have an opportunity to learn English. They will even pay a handsome tuition for the privilege. This has a marked effect upon their naturalization.

University Extension work should be extended under the school board and in such a way as to meet the actual needs of the people. University settlements will prove to be more and more a well of refreshing water in thirsty places. The club rooms for workmen where they may meet and talk, the playgrounds, the fresh air parks all should come under municipal control for only in this way can the largest good be accomplished.

3. The Institutional Church.

The Institutional Church with its sympathetic, interested corps of workers will prove to be the blessing of heaven to the community. Whatever may be our program for social uplift, we fail utterly unless we like the patron saint, Lord Shaftesbury, undertake it under the guidance of Almighty God.

HV Lockhart, William Stockton.
28 Lord Shaftsbury and industrial reform.
S46 [Chicago] 1908.
L6 29 l. 29cm.

Typescript (carbon copy)
Thesis (M.A.) - Chicago.
Includes outline and bibliography.

1. Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 7th
earl of, 1801-1885. I. Title.

CCSC/mmab

A21658

